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TWO PHONETIC SHIFTS OCCURRING IN MANY ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES¹

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

I STATED in the "Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences", 4: 404, that the interchange of $\bar{o}$ before consonants, and aw before vowels, was universal in Fox. This it not quite accurate, for aw shifts to $\bar{a}$, not $\bar{o}$, before certain consonants. An examination has revealed that the same (or closely allied) shifts occur in many Algonquian languages. Specifically the languages in which I have thus far been able to establish that the shifts take place are Fox, Kickapoo, Cree (see below), Montagnais (see below), Shawnee, Ojibwa, Algonkin, Potawatomi, Peoria, and Delaware. Since these shifts are shared by so many Algonquian languages, and since these languages are in substantial agreement in the shifts, it is clear that these changes must be very ancient, and presumably in their beginnings go back to the Algonquian parent-language. I have derived my examples, for Fox, from Jones's Texts (references by page and line) and my unpublished texts, and notes in a few cases (for the principle differences between Jones's and my phonetics see p. 54 of this Journal); for Kickapoo, Jones's Tales (references by page and line); for Cree, Lacombe's grammar and dictionary; for Montagnais, Lemoine's grammar and dictionary; for Shawnee, Gatschet's manuscripts in the Bureau of American Ethnology and my early Shawnee notes; for Ojibwa, Baraga's grammar and dictionary and Jones's Texts, Volume I (references by page and line); for Algonkin, Cuoq's grammar and dictionary;

for Potawatomi, photostat copies of Gaillard's dictionary; for Peoria, Gatschet's manuscripts in the Bureau of American Ethnology; for Delaware, Zeisberger's grammar. These sources are of greatly varying quality, not to speak of quantity. Moreover, it has not been possible for me to control their phonetics in all cases: hence it is that I cannot formulate definite laws covering all the languages concerned. Nor do I claim to give exhaustive rules for even those languages with which I am tolerably familiar. It would be an easy matter to obtain full data in the field; in the office, it means the reading of hundreds of pages of texts, without being sure of completeness. What I wish to do is to establish the shifts and give such rules as I can, in the hope that others will assist in gathering materials which will enable complete laws to be formulated, and especially to find out whether these same shifts occur in other Algonquian languages. The following table shows the provisional results:

Fox	aw	{	> $\bar{o}$ before $n, 'k, tc [= d_{tc}]$, y, w
		{	> $\bar{a}$ before $g, k [= g], t$
Kickapoo . . .	aw	{	> $\bar{o}$ before $n, 'k, tc$
		{	> $\bar{a}$ before g
Shawnee . . .	aw	{	> $u, o [= \bar{o}]$ before l
		{	> $\bar{a}$ before $g, k [= g]$
		{	> ?
Cree	$aw, dw [= aw]$	{	> $\bar{a} [\bar{a}]$ before $t, k [= g]$
		{	tch
Montagnais .	u	{	> ?
		{	> $a [= \bar{a}]$ before k
Ojibwa	$aw, dw [aw]$	{	> $\bar{o}$ before n, k (Fox $'k$), d^2, y, w
		{	> $\bar{a}$ before g, s, t, d

1. Printed by permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

2. Terminally; Gull Lake dialect $-d^t$ according to Michelson.

Algonkin... <i>aw</i>	{ > <i>o</i> [= <i>ō</i>] before <i>n</i>
	{ > <i>a</i> [= <i>ā</i>] before <i>g, t, d</i>
Potawatomi. <i>ow</i> [<i>aw</i>]	{ > ?
	{ > <i>a</i> [= <i>ā</i>] before <i>k</i> [<i>g</i>]
Peoria... <i>aw</i>	{ > <i>ō</i> before <i>l</i>
	{ > <i>a</i> [<i>ā</i>] before <i>k</i> [= <i>k</i> , not <i>g</i>]
Delaware... <i>aw</i>	{ > <i>o</i> before <i>l</i>
	{ > <i>a</i> before <i>g</i>

It will be recalled that Shawnee, Peoria, and Delaware *l* corresponds to *n* of the other dialects. I have not discussed the Cree examples that may be extracted from Horden's grammar, as I do not know how to interpret the forms (see pp. 153, 154, et seq. Note *netoshetowow* but *netoshetwak*, etc.).

FOX

ānenō'tawātc' HOW SHE UNDERSTOOD HIM 224.5, *'āgwī pwāwineno'tōnAgwinⁿⁱ HE WILL NOT FAIL TO UNDERSTAND US*, *keneno'tāgunān^{na} HE UNDERSTANDS US*; *netōtawāw^a I BROUGHT THIS ON HIM 190.6*, *'ā'tōtauāwātc' HOW THEY TREATED HIM*; *ā'i'cimenwitōtawiyāgw^e BY THE KINDNESS THAT YE HAVE DONE ME 180.13*, *'ā'tōlōnAgō^{we} HOW I TREATED YOU*, *āgwī nAnācimyācitōlātīwātcini' THEY NEVER ILL-TREATED EACH OTHER 148.3*, *'ā'tōtā-gowātc' HOW THEY WERE TREATED BY*; *kicise-tāwiyāgw^e WHAT YE HAVE SET FOR ME 374.19*, *keki'cisetāgunān^{na} HE HAS SET IT FOR US*, *āneckiselōtc' HE SPREAD IT OPEN 172.10*; *ānōtawātc' WHEN HE HEARD HIM 110.16*, *neteci-nōtāgāpen^a SUCH IS THE RUMOR WE HAVE HEARD 154.7*, *ānōtāgātc' WHEN SHE HEARD THE NEWS 170.19*; *nōdāgānitc' WHEN HE HEARD THE NEWS 146.14*, *ā'pyātcinōtāgusiniltc' HE WAS HEARD APPROACHING 156.22*; *inā'pyānutawātc' WHEN HE CAME TO HIM THERE 368.21*, *pyānutāgutcini' THE ONE BY WHOM SHE WAS VISITED 154.2,5*, *pyānu-tāgut^e SHE WAS VISITED BY 154.10*, *wi'pyānu-tāgōgⁱ [so read] THEY WILL BE VISITED BY 184.14*, *wātcipyānutunAgūw^e [read -tōnAgōw^e] WHY I CAME TO VISIT YOU 178.10*; *ā'kiciketeminawiwātc' FOR THEY HAVE PITIED ME 186.18*, *ā'kicicāgiketemi-*

nawiwātc' THEY HAVE ALL BLESSED ME 184.7, *wiketeminawiyānⁱ THAT YOU WILL TAKE PITY ON ME 380.2*, *keketeminōnep^{wa} I BLESS YOU*, *neketemi-nāgōgⁱ THEY HAVE BLESSED ME 376.8*, *kicicāgi-ketemināgu^dtc' AFTER HE HAD BEEN BLESSED BY ALL*; *ānagiskawātc HE MET HER 208.19*, *ānAgis-kāgutc HE WAS MET BY 208.14*, *ā'pyātcinagiskā-kuwātc THEY CAME TO MEET THEM [a passive in formation] 218.12*; *āgwiyāp' wigelawitcini' HE NOT SO MUCH AS GAVE ME EVEN A REPLY 368.1*, *ā'pwāwiyāgetāgutc' WHEN HE GOT NO REPLY FROM HIM 366.24*; *neneskinawāw^a I LOATHE HIM 68.14*, *āneskinawātc' FOR THAT YOU LOATHE HIM 68.17,20*, *wātcineskinūnānⁱ [read -nōnānⁱ] WHY I HATE THEE 140.4*; *kene'ckinō'n^{ne} I HATE THEE*, *kene'ckināgunān^{na} HE HATES US*; *ā'kāske'tawātc SHE HEARD THEM 222.8*, *kā'cke'tā'gu'si^{wa} HE IS HEARD*, *kā'cke'tāg^{kwā} HE IS HEARD BY*; *keki'ci'ta'-wipen^{na} YE MADE IT FOR US*, *keki'ci'tō'n^{ne} I MADE IT FOR THEE*, *neki'ci'tā'g^{kwā} HE MADE IT FOR ME*, *neki'ci'tā'gunān^{na} HE MADE IT FOR US (exclusive)*; *mō'ki'tāgāwātc' IF THEY MADE A SUDDEN ASSAULT [contrast this with Cree (from Lacombe) mos-kistawew IL FENCE SUR LUI and Ojibwa (from Baraga) ninmōkilawa I RUSH UPON HIM SUDDENLY]. In the Algonquian sketch in the Handbook of American Indian Languages, part I, paragraph 34 I mentioned the use of -amā- beside -Amaw-, -Amō- in the double object construction. At the time I was unable to explain its use. It is now apparent that -amā- is simply due to the operation of phonetic law. An example from the sketch is niwītamāgwa-mā OF COURSE HE WILL TELL ME IT as contrasted with āwītAmōnānⁱ I TELL IT TO THEE, kiwītAmawāw^a THOU WILT TELL IT TO HIM. Other examples can be readily found in the sketch. It is probable that -tā-discussed in the same section is to be explained as being a phonetic reflex, and corresponds to -taw- before vowels, and -tō- before certain consonants. [It may be observed that ā'tōtā'ut HOW HE HAD BEEN TREATED 204.14 is an error for ā'tōtawut as is ātōtabut HOW SHE WAS*

TREATED 226.4; *ätöta'o'metc* HOW HE WAS TREATED is an error for *ä'tötawumetc.*]

KICKAPOO

[The discussion of variations (PAES 9: 119-123) should be read to understand some of the forms cited below.]

änenu'tawātcī HE HEARD HIM 94.11, *änenu'taālcī* HE HEARD HER 50.20, *änenō'tō'kiyātuge* HE PROBABLY HEARD THEE 74.20, *wiicinenu'tāgutci* THAT HE MIGHT BE HEARD BY 8.21; *ä'pyānutaātcī* HE CAME TO HIM 52.22, *ä'pyānutaātcī* HE CAME TO HIM [really a passive]; *imetāco'kaitcitcāi* HE TRULY TRIED TO RAPE ME 76.11, *nemetāco'kāgwa* HE IS RAPING ME 70.18; *āme'kāgutci* HE WAS FOUND 106.7 [contrast this with Fox *āme'kawātcī* THEN SHE FOUND HIM 160.15]; *āuci'tawāteha* HE MADE IT FOR HIM 72.7, *āaci'tōtcī* HE THOUGHT IT OUT 94.3, *nekici'tāgwa* HE MADE IT FOR ME 72.17 [contrast -'taw-, -'tō-, -'tā-]; *änāgiskaātcī* HE MET HIM 18.13, 20.12, 26.13, 102.18, *āmyāneskāgutci* THEY WERE MADE SICK BY 66.10 [contrast -*ska(w)a-*, -*skā-*; Fox, Cree, Ojibwa, also support the variation: see pp. 301, 302, 303]; *āne'taātcī* THEN HE KILLED HIM FOR HIM 8.6, *kine'tōne* I WILL KILL FOR YOU 8.5; *witōtauteha* WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH HIM 40.4, *witōtō-nāge* WE SHALL DO FOR THEE 42.14.

SHAWNEE

meteleitamawā'dshi SHE CREATED FOR THEM, *metelctamako'li* SHE CREATED FOR HIM (really a passive); *ninatama'wa* I HELP HIM, *nenatamagieta* A HELPER (really a participial, *gi* probably represents an anterior palatal *g*); *niwitamawa'gi* I TELL THEM, *ke'hwitamule* I WILL TELL THEE; *nitamwe'tawā* I CARRY IT AWAY FROM HIM, *nitamwetāgwa* HE CARRIED IT AWAY FROM ME, *kitamwetā'gun^a* HE CARRIED IT AWAY FROM US (exclusive).

CREE

wittamāwew IL LUI CONFESSE, *wittamāturwok* ILS S'AVERTISSENT, *wittamākew* IL DÉCLARE; *totamāwew* IL LE FAIT POUR LUI, *totamowin* ACTION, *totamākew* IL FAIT CELA POUR AUTRUI; *totawew* IL LUI FAIT, *totākew* IL FAIT, *tepiskawew* IL LUI VA BIEN, *tepiskākew* IL VA BIEN, *takiskākew* IL DONNE UN COUP DE PIED; *nakiskawew* IL LE RENCONTRE, *nakiskākew* IL RENCONTRE, *nakiskātuwok* ILS SE RENCONTRENT; *moskistawew* IL S'ÉLANCE SUR LUI, *moskistākew* IL S'ÉLANCE; *tāpwettawew* IL LE CROIT, *tāpwetākew* IL CROIT; *tepittawew* IL L'ENTEND BIEN, *tepittātchikew* IL ENTEND BIEN, *tepittākusiw* IL EST BIEN ENTENDU; *mamiskotamāwew* IL LUI EN PARLE, *mamiskotamākew* IL EN PARLE.

MONTAGNAIS

nitutuau JE LE FAIS, *nitutaku* IL ME FAIT; *tshiskutamauau* JE LUI ENSEIGNE, *niṭshiskutamaku* IL M'ENSEIGNE; *niuilamauau* JE L'AVERTIS, *niuitamaku* IL M'AVERTIT, *niuitamakunan* IL NOUS AVERTIT, *tshiuitamakuan* IL VOUS AVERTIT.

OJIBWA

(a) *From Baraga.*

kinondāwimin THOU HEAREST US, *kinondon* I HEAR THEE, *kishpin nondonān* IF I HEAR THEE, *kishpin nondok* IF HE HEAR THEE, *kishpin nondokwa* IF THEY HEAR THEE, *kishpin nondonegwa* IF THEY SEE YOU, *kinondag* HE HEARS THEE, *kinondagog* THEY HEAR THEE, *kinondagom* YE ARE HEARD, *kinondagowa* HE HEARS YOU, *kinondagowag* THEY HEAR YOU, *kishpin nondāgoiān* IF I AM HEARD; *ningashkitamawa* I EARN IT FOR HIM, *ningashkitamadis* I EARN IT FOR MYSELF, *ningashkitamas* I EARN IT FOR MYSELF; *ninwindamarwa* I TELL HIM, *ninwindamagen* I RELATE IT; *ninwābandamarwa* I SEE HIS, *ninwābandamadis* I SEE MYSELF, I SEE MINE; *ninnagishkawa* I MEET HIM, *ninna-*

gishkâge I MEET; *nintangishkawâ* I KICK HIM, *nintangishkâge* I KICK; *nindêbwêtawa* I BELIEVE HIM, *nindêbwêtagos* I SPEAK THE TRUTH, *nindebwetage* I SPEAK THE TRUTH; *nindôdawa* I DO IT TO HIM, *nindodadis* I DO IT TO MYSELF, *nindodas* I DO IT TO MYSELF, *dodâdiwin* MUTUAL TREATMENT, *ninnigitawa* I GIVE BIRTH TO A CHILD FOR HIM, *kinigitagowa* HE IS BORN TO YOU, *ninnigitâg* HE IS BORN TO ME.

(b) From Jones's *Ojibwa Texts, Part I*

windamawicin TELL ME 92.7, *kigawindamôn* I WILL ADVISE YOU 20.1, *uwindamâgôn* HE WAS INFORMED 88.18; *ogî'î'jî'a'cânicikawân* HE MADE HIM RETRACE HIS WAY 18.17, *kâ'w'ndci'a'jânici-kâgut* HE WAS DRIVEN BACK FROM THAT PLACE 18.18; *kâ'î'jitangickawât* HE KICKED HIM 34.21, *kitangickâgut* HE WAS KICKED BY 172.10; *ninga-tôtawâ* I WILL DO TO HIM 132.19, *kîwânitôtawânân* WE NEARLY DID A MISTAKE TO HIM 130.14, *tôtâ-gut* HE WAS TREATED BY 90.21, *wântcitôtawit* WHY HE SHOULD TREAT ME 110.5, *tcitôtâtît* THAT THEY SHALL DO TO EACH OTHER 38.23; *nôndawiyân* IF YOU HEAR ME 254.12, *kinôndawât* SHE HEARD THEM 4.10, *uginôntawâ* HE HEARD THEM 134.9, *unôntawâ* HE WAS HEARD 124.17, *nôndâgusi* HE WAS HEARD 238.17, *ningacki'tôn* [so read] I SHALL BE ABLE TO MAKE IT 224.28, *kicpin gacki'tôyan* IF YOU CAN MAKE IT 224.27, *kî'kîci'tôwât* THEN THEY WERE DONE WITH IT 226.3 [Fox -'taw-, -'tô-, -'tâ-]

ALGONKIN

ninondawa I HEAR HIM, *kinondon* I HEAR THEE, *nondagosi* HE IS HEARD, *nondage* HE HEARS; *niminototawak* I TREAT THEM WELL, *tolawidjik* THOSE WHO TREAT ME, *niminototago* I AM WELL TREATED, *minototatitik* TREAT EACH OTHER WELL, *pizindawa* IL EST ÉCOUTÉ, *opizindagon* IL EST ÉCOUTÉ DE LUI, *kipizindag* TU ES ÉCOUTÉ DE LUI, *pizindatik* ÉCOUTEZ-VOUS LES UNS LES AUTRES; for examples of -amaw-, -amo-, -ama-, of the double object, see paragraphs 222-225.

POTAWATOMI

nitô'towâ' I TREAT HIM, *tô'tâ'ké'win* TREATMENT; *ninô'towâ'* I HEAR HIM, *nôtâ'ké'win* HEARING; *nidé'bwêtowâ* I BELIEVE HIM, *té'bwêta'két* A BELIEVER; *nîwîtimo'wâ* I TELL HIM, *wî'tamâ'ké'win* INFORMATION.

PEORIA

wendamawatci' SHE ADVISED HIM, *windamakôtci* HE WAS INFORMED; *nû'ndawâtci* HE HEARD HIM, *nundako'watch* THEY WERE HEARD.

DELAWARE

n'pendawa I HEAR HIM, *n'pendawarwak* I HEAR THEM, *pendawake* IF I HEAR HIM, *pendawite* IF HE HEARS ME, *pendawate* IF HE HEAR HIM, *pendawil* DO THOU HEAR ME, *k'pendolen* I HEAR THEE, *n'pendagun* HE HEARS ME, *k'pendagun* HE HEARS THEE, *pendagol* HE HEARS HIM, *k'pendagnwa* HE HEARS YOU; *n'petarawarak* I BRING TO THEM, *k'petawi* THOU BRINGEST TO ME, *petawil* BRING THOU TO ME, *petawik* BRING YE TO ME, *petawite* IF HE BRINGS TO ME, *petawate* IF HE BRINGS TO HIM, *k'petolen* I BRING TO THEE, *petagol* HE BRINGS TO HIM, *n'petaguneen* HE BRINGS TO US (excl.), *k'petagunwa* HE BRINGS TO YOU.

Addition Nov. 1st, 1920. This paper was written nearly three years ago. An abstract will be found in the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Science*, 9.333.334. Ottawa, Passamoquoddy, and Penobscot should be added to the list of languages (given above) in which the changes take place. The inferences regarding Ottawa are drawn from unpublished manuscripts in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology; those appertaining to Passamoquoddy from a number of sources; those concerning Penobscot, Speck's material published in this *Journal*, vol. I, p. 187 ff. It may be well to give a few examples showing

the changes in the last : — *uda'dəmi'ka'wɔn* HE OVERTOOK HIM [exact reference lost], *udadə-mi'kəɾgun* HE WAS OVERTAKEN BY [203], *uda-dəmi'kəgʊl* CAUGHT UP TO HIM [really a passive; 213]; *uno'so'kawɔn* HE CHASED HIM [213], *no'so'kɔɾgotci'djihi* CHASING AFTER HIM [really a passive: THOSE BY WHOM HE WAS CHASED; 213]; *gi'zi'be'su't'kawɔk* I CAN APPROACH HER [217], *nəbe'sut'kɔ'go* HE HAS COME NEAR ME [really a passive; 235], *ki'zi'be'sut'kɔk'w* HE ALREADY HAS BEEN NEAR YOU [235]; *se'ka'wit* HE THAT CONQUERS ME [216], *se'kask'* HE WHO SHALL

CONQUER YOU [216]; *gəna'stolɔn* I PUT IT ON YOU [241], *unasta'wɔn* HE PUT IT ON HIM [241]; *udama'skəlo'tawɔn* HE MOCKED HIM [205], *udamaskəlo'təɾgʊt* HE MOCKED HIM [really a passive; 205]; note also *-əmaɔ-*, *-əmo-* (Fox *-Amaw-*, *-amō-*): *alɔmbe'səmaɔwi* CUT THEM (INAN.) UP FOR ME [209], *kan'əga'dəmo'lɔn* I LEAVE IT WITH YOU [223]. From my work among the Plains Cree this summer it would seem that *aw* contracts only to *-ā-*, not to *-ō-*. [Penobscot *-xɾg-* (*ɔg-*) corresponds to Fox *-əg-*.]